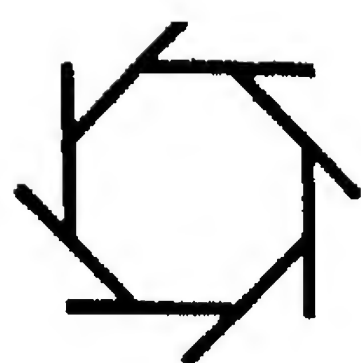


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HISTORY OF THE SLAVE TRADE  
TO AMERICA

ELIZABETH DONNAN

VOLUME I

1441-1700



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from the Late Encouragem<sup>tt</sup> that is Given by the Late act<sup>4</sup> upon which Mr. Scroope went downe to Informe and Invite them hether, and we hope his designe will have a good Issue. Negroes are now much wanted and if either or both the Shipp[s] that touched at Madera come here we hope will find a good Sale.

157. VOYAGE OF THE *HANNIBAL*, 1693-1694.<sup>1</sup>

. . . After my return to England,<sup>2</sup> I was for some time destitute of employment, until my ever honoured patron and benefactor, Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys, Knt.<sup>3</sup> out of his extraordinary generosity and good will to me, understanding that the ship *Hannibal* of four hundred and fifty tons, and thirty-six guns, was to be sold, gave me orders to buy her. Having done this he was pleas'd to deposit the money for her out of his own pocket; and after, by his interest, to bring in his worthy brother, John Jeffreys, Esq., Sam. Stanyer, Esq., then sub-governor of the African company, and some other eminent merchants, to be part-owners with me, and then to recommend me and the ship to the royal African company of England; from whom, upon his account, I found acceptance: Being entr'd into their service, on a trading voyage to Guiney, for elephants teeth, gold, and Negro slaves; and having the needful cargoes on board, wherewith to purchase them, as well as supplies of merchandize, stores, etc., for the company's castles and factories; my business being compleated at London, I took boat for Gravesend the fifth of September in the evening, and got on board

<sup>4</sup>The reference is to a Barbados act of Aug. 2, 1692: "Whereas heretofore the Subjects of the Kingdom of Spain, have been permitted to trade here, and to buy and purchase Negroes; which Trade hath been in some measure restrained by an Act of this Island, or by some clause or clauses thereof, laying a Tax or Duty on such Negroes so bought and purchased, which said Act long since expired: To the intent therefore that the same may be manifest and made known, Be it enacted and it is hereby enacted and declared by his Excellency, Colonel James Kendal, Captain General and chief Governor of this and other the Caribbee-Islands, the Honourable the Council, and General Assembly of this Island, and by Authority of the same, That the said Act, and all and every Act and Acts of this Island, and all and every the Sentences, Clauses and Penalties therein contained, which did lay a Tax or Duty, on any Negro or Negroes, so bought or purchased by any Subjects of the King of Spain, shall be and are hereby declared absolutely null, void and of none effect; and that the said Subjects of the King of Spain, may have free liberty of trading to this place for Negroes as aforesaid; and that no Tax or Duty shall be laid upon or required from them for such Negroes as shall be by them bought for the future". *Acts passed in the Island of Barbados* (1764), pp. 127-128.

[157] <sup>1</sup>"A Journal of a Voyage made in the *Hannibal* of London, Ann. 1693-1694, from England, to Cape Monseradoe, in Africa; and thence along the Coast of Guiney to Whidaw, the Island of St. Thomas, and so forward to Barbadoes. With a Cursory Account of the Country, the People, their Manners, Forts, Trade, etc.", by Thomas Phillips, commander of the said ship; from Churchill, *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1732), VI. 173-239. Astley, *Voyages and Travels* (II. 387-416), contains an abstract of this account.

<sup>2</sup>The author introduces his narrative by a brief account of his capture by the French and detention in France just before this voyage.

<sup>3</sup>One of the influential London members of the Royal African Company, concerned in trade to Virginia. See this work, vol. III., Virginia.

about eleven at night, with money to pay my men their river-pay, and one month's pay advance-money, as per agreement (p. 173). . . .<sup>4</sup>

Until the fifth of October, in the morning, we had fair weather, smooth sea, and a small gale of wind at S.S. W. which towards evening veer'd about to the S.E. and E. and invited us and the rest of the outward bound ships, in the Downs to go to sea;<sup>5</sup> of which those for Guiney were, the *East-India Merchant*,<sup>6</sup> of thirty guns, Capt. Thomas Shurley commander; the *Hannibal* of thirty-six guns, Thomas Phillips, for the gold coast; the *Mediterranean* of twenty-four guns, Capt. Daniel, for Angola; the *Jeffrey* of twelve guns, Capt. Somes, for the Bite; the *Fortune* of twelve guns, Capt. Hereford, for Angola; and the *Eagle* packet boat, Capt. Perry, for Gambo and the coast. We having agreed among ourselves, that Capt. Thomas Shurley, who had been long acquainted with the Guiney trade should give sailing orders, shape the course, and carry the light, we came on board to unmoor our ships, and about eight were under sail (p. 174).<sup>7</sup> . . .

[Dec. 23.] We found the other two vessels to be one Gubbins an interloper come from Barbadoes, chiefly laden with rum, to trade for gold and slaves, of which I bought about 500 gallons of him cheap and sold it to good advantage; the other vessel was the *Stanier* sloop, with Mr. Colker on board her, who was agent of Cherborough,<sup>8</sup> and came thence to trade along the coast for teeth (p. 190). . . .

The 28th came in here<sup>9</sup> Capt. John Soans, in the *Jeffrey*, and having supply'd himself with some wood, water, and rice, set sail again

<sup>4</sup>The vessel carried as passengers thirty-three employees of the African Company, who were to be delivered at their forts.

<sup>5</sup>Bad weather overtaking them, they did not leave the Downs until Oct. 25.

<sup>6</sup>The *East-India Merchant* had recently delivered a negro cargo in Jamaica. On Jan. 7, 1692, Walter Ruding, one of the company's factors, wrote that the cargo of the *East-India Merchant*, Captain Shurley, just sold, had amounted to £6982 5 s. 11d. above the freight. T 70: 17.

<sup>7</sup>Details follow concerning the weather, navigation, and incidents of the voyage. The most serious mishap was an encounter with a French man-of-war in which five of Phillips's men were killed and thirty-two wounded. Among the wounded was a brother of Phillips, a lad of sixteen. On Dec. 2 they reached Santiago, one of the Cape Verde Islands, under Portuguese control. Here Phillips put in for water and provisions, and had an interview with the governor of the island, who desired payment for the provisions in money: "I gave him to understand that I had none of that, nor was it customary for merchant ships to carry monies with them to purchase necessities, having either credit where they come, or effects to raise money with, more especially in my voyage to Guiney, where we had good factories, and where our European coins were not passable" (Churchill, VI. 186). On Dec. 23, steering along the shore close to Cape "Monserado" (Mesurado), he saw three vessels, one of them the *East-India Merchant*, badly shattered by a storm. Phillips went at once to the rescue of the vessel, explaining, "my best friend Sir Jeffry Jeffries, Knt. and some others of my worthy owners, as well as the royal African company being deeply concern'd in her". From this time until the *Hannibal* sailed for Barbados the two vessels remained together.

<sup>8</sup>Sherbro.

<sup>9</sup>Cape Mesurado. Of this spot Phillips writes: "Cape Mounseradoe is about sixteen leagues distant from cape Mount. . . . Here is a store of good rice, and cheap, which they brought us in abundance . . . The chief commodity we traded for was rice, of which I bought about five tuns, paying mostly for it in booges or cowries, which are the goods they chiefly esteem, for a pint of which we could buy 30 lb. of rice. The other goods they approved of were iron bars and red Welsh plains; but they had

for the Bite, on Thursday the 3d of Jan. having left me a packet of letters directed to Sir Jeffrey Jeffreys to be forwarded to Europe with the first conveniency. Agent Colker set sail for Sherberow, on the 5th, and Gubbins in the Barbadoes interloper, the same morning for the gold coast, by whom I sent letters to the African companies three chief merchants at Cabo Corce castle, signifying my agreement with the company to slave upon the gold coast, and bespeaking their diligence in procuring what numbers they could for me against my arrival there, with what else was needful: I was forced to stay here ten days after I had compleated my business for Capt. Shurley to refit his ship, which at length being done, we both set sail with the morning breeze, on the 9th of Jan. 1693/4 for the coast: The negroes of this place, express'd a great affection for the English, and as much hatred to the French; two of them took Capt. Shurley's and my name, assuring us their next sons should be call'd so (p. 194). . . .

[*Monday, Jan. 15.*] At ten we were off the river Sino, about twelve leagues from Sanguin,<sup>10</sup> which is easily known by a tree making like a ship with a top-sail loose; from whence came several canoes aboard us with pepper, or, as they call it, Malagetta, which is much like our India pepper, and, for ought I know, as good. It was brought in ozier baskets. I bought 1000 weight of it at one iron bar (value in England three shillings and six pence) and a dashy of a knife or two to the broker. The reason of our buying this pepper is to give our negroes in their messes to keep them from the flux and dry belly-ach, which they are very incident to (p. 195). . . .<sup>11</sup>

[*Wed. to Mon., Feb. 4.*] Being anchor'd he<sup>12</sup> sent his boat aboard us, with a private commission from king William, whereby he appear'd to be a Dutch privateer, tho' a trader upon the coast, where he had been above nine months up and down without being able to dispose of all his cargo; he was lately come from Angola, the Captain's name was William Fleming, the master's name Stephen Waterman, the ship's name *Jacob Hendrick*; she had 16 guns and 42 men; the Capt. was sick; they advis'd us that Capt. Gubbins and his doctor in the Barbadoes-Interloper were dead; that the country was all in wars; that there was little gold upon the coast, by reason the negro-traders could not bring it down in safety, the passages and roads being stopt;

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nothing considerable to trade with us for them. We bought some fowls of them . . . we also purchas'd some limes, wild oranges, pine apples, and two or three small goats" (Churchill, VI. 191). Here Phillips supplied himself with water and wood.

<sup>10</sup> Sanguin River, "where the Grain or Malagetta coast begins". Sino was a short distance from Sestos. The coast from this point on is described in much detail by Barbot. Churchill, V. 136-138.

<sup>11</sup> For Barbot's description of Guinea pepper, see *ibid.*, V. 132.

<sup>12</sup> The captain of a near-by ship at which the *Hannibal* had fired, taking it for a French vessel. On the voyage down the coast Captain Shurley, Phillips's brother, and several of his men were taken sick. On Jan. 17 his brother died. On Jan. 25 and 26, Phillips lay off Bassam, trading for gold. Here natives came out in canoes, promising slaves, but the promise was not kept. Churchill, VI. 196-198.

and that the negroes had taken the Danes fort <sup>13</sup> at Accra, kill'd one of the factors, and much wounded the other. . . .

[*Mon. to Wed., Feb. 6.*] Here were above a dozen Dutch interlopers at this time trading upon the coast, notwithstanding all the Dutch are prohibited that trade, except the ships belonging to their Guiney company, who have orders to fight and take by force of arms the said interlopers where-ever they meet them upon the coast, who upon such capture become as much prize as any declar'd enemy, the ship and goods being confiscated to the use of the said company, and the men made prisoners in the dungeon at the Mine; and if I mistake not, the captain and other principal officers condemn'd to die (p. 199). . . .

[*Thur. Feb. 14.*] . . . By this canoe <sup>14</sup> [from Cape-Coast Castle] I received a letter from our agents, advising me to dispose of as much as I could of my cargo before I came there, where there was no trade nor gold, by reason the country was all in wars; and that there was no probability of procuring any number of slaves upon the gold coast (p. 201). . . .<sup>15</sup>

[*Feb. 16.*] we fill'd some water here,<sup>16</sup> got a little wood, and some cancy-stones, for our slaves to grind their corn upon; and no trade presenting, we parted thence the 19th for Succandy (p. 202). . . .<sup>17</sup>

[*Feb. 27.*] The castle of Cabo Corce is the chief of all those our African company have upon this coast, and where their agents or chief

<sup>13</sup> Christiansborg castle. The Danes had had a lodge or factory here since the middle of the century. Through the treachery of a factor the castle was surrendered to the Portuguese in 1679, to be regained by the Danes in 1682 or the beginning of 1683. It was held by them until the natives seized it in 1693, to which capture Phillips here refers. Bosman stated that the Dutch helped the Danes to regain it on this occasion (William Bosman, *Description of Guinea*, 1721, pp. 59-60). There are pictures of Christiansborg in *Laegen Paul Iseris Breve fra Dansk Guinea* (Copenhagen, 1917), pp. xviii, 8, 141, 142.

<sup>14</sup> The *Hannibal* was anchored at Axim, about two miles from the Dutch fort, and had been entertaining on board the Dutch factor, Mr. Rawlinson, who was frightened into hasty departure by the sight of the canoe here mentioned.

<sup>15</sup> Rawlinson, recovering from his fear that the canoe contained the Dutch fiscal, come to examine into his affairs, returned to the ship, and invited Captains Shurley and Phillips and Mr. Buckridge to have dinner with him the next day. This gave them an opportunity to inspect the town and view a native dance. Phillips observes that this is the best and cheapest place to buy the canoes used in slaving at Whydah, "they being very scarce and dear to leeward". Resuming their leisurely way down the coast, they passed the Brandenburg fort, Great Friedrichsburg, and Cape Three Points, and anchored at Dixcove Feb. 16. Churchill, VI. 201-202.

<sup>16</sup> Dixcove. The English had begun a fort here in 1691, after a dispute with the Brandenburgers over possession of the location. It was not completed until 1697. Claridge, *The Gold Coast*, I. 127.

<sup>17</sup> According to their charter-parties from the Royal African Company, Sekundi was the last point at which to dispose of their windward cargoes, of which they had £3000 apiece, and had not yet bartered away £200 each. Here they found the factor, Johnson, insane. Here, also, the *Eagle* joined them and they learned that Captain Perry was dead. On the 21st they sailed to Shama, or Chama, and Ampeny Point, half way between Elmina and Cape Coast Castle. Along the coast they had some trade in gold but found the natives afraid to trade with them because of their awe of the Dutch, who held Commenda near by and were trying to destroy the English trade, being, as Phillips wrote, "very insolent upon that coast". Churchill, VI. 203.

factors always reside, to which all the other factories are subordinate. This castle has a handsome prospect from the sea, and is a very regular and well contriv'd fortification, and as strong as it can be well made, considering its situation, being encompass'd with a strong and high brick wall, thro' which you enter by a well-secur'd and large gate facing the town, and come into a fine and spacious square wherein 4 or 500 men may very conveniently be drawn up and exercis'd. It has four flankers which have a cover'd communication with each other, and are mounted with good guns. . . .<sup>18</sup>

In this castle the agents and factors have genteel convenient lodgings; and as to the soldiers, I believe there are not better barracks anywhere than here, each two having a handsome room allow'd them, and receive their pay duly and justly in gold dust once a week for their subsistence. The castle has in all about forty guns mounted, some of them brass, and commonly 100 white men in garrison, with a military land officer to discipline and command them under the agents (p. 204). . . .<sup>19</sup>

I also carried there on account of the African company, muskets, niconees, tapseals, baysadoes, brass kettles, English carpets, Welsh plains, lead bars, firkins of tallow, powder, etc. None of which did answer expectation, being forc'd to bring back to England a great part of them; and those we sold were at a very low rate (p. 206) . . . .<sup>20</sup>

At Cabo Corce we took in part of the Indian corn order'd us for the provision of our negroes to Barbadoes, the allowance being a chest which contains about four bushels for every negro. It is charg'd the company at two achies per chest, and bare measure; but we could buy better of the blacks at an achy and  $\frac{1}{2}$ , and heap'd measure. Here is some palm oil, but it is cheaper at Whidaw, tho' the island of

<sup>18</sup> Here is omitted a lengthy account of the cistern which supplied the fort and occasional visiting vessels with water. The space which Phillips gives to the account is some indication of the importance of the water supply in all the English stations. Lack of it was considered the greatest weakness of James Fort, in the Gambia.

<sup>19</sup> The *Hannibal* landed thirty soldiers for the Royal African Company, all in good health, though two months later nearly half of them had died. The company kept here three merchants, who at this time were Joshua Platt, William Ronan, and William Melrose. Phillips's stay of 29 days gave him time to observe food, buildings, gardens, as well as to trade in gold. He tells of a school maintained in the castle to teach the small black children of the town to read and write and "so prepare them to be made christians". Mr. Clayton, chief of Fort Royal, once the Danish Fort Frederiksborg, died while he was there, and John Rootsey, a Barbadian who had come out on the *Hannibal* or the *West Indian Merchant*, was appointed to the place (Churchill, VI. 204-207). The Danish Fort Frederiksborg had been delivered to the Royal African Company in 1685, and renamed Fort Royal. In 1699 the old fort was torn down and a new one built.

<sup>20</sup> Here follows a description of the method of trading for gold. Up to this time Phillips's trade had been entirely for teeth and gold.

St. Thomas is the cheapest place, and where there is most plenty of it (p. 208) . . . <sup>21</sup>

[*Apr. 26.*] . . . and after dinner I went ashore to Mr. Searle the factor here,<sup>22</sup> to know where and when we should send for the corn assign'd us here by the chief merchants at cape Corce, there being not enough to supply us there, and therefore were to call for the rest at this place, and Aena [Accra?], to compleat our quantity of 700 chests each. Mr. Searle immediately order'd what quantity he had to be delivered us whenever our boats came for it, and entertain'd us very lovingly till night when Capt. Shurley and I went on board. Animabo lies in the Kingdom of Fantine, is a pretty large town; the negro inhabitants are accounted very bold and stout fellows, but the most desperate treacherous villains, and greatest cheats upon the whole coast, for the gold here is accounted the worst, and the most mix'd with brass, of any in Guiney; it lies about 4 leagues to the East of Cabo Corce. Our castle is pretty strong, of about 18 guns, where we were very kindly entertained by Mr. Searle some days, and by Mr. Cooper at Aga on other days. Aga is a small thatch'd house, about half a mile to the east from Animabo, on the sea-shore, having little or no defence except a few muskets (p. 209) . . . <sup>23</sup>

*May the 12th.* . . . Here [Accra] <sup>24</sup> Mr. John Bloome the factor order'd us the remainder of our corn, to compleat 700 chests apiece, which we got aboard, fill'd some water, and had pretty good trade (p. 211) . . .

*May the 19th.* Steering along shore within three leagues, with fine easy gale, we spy'd a canoe making off towards us, whereupon we lay by and staid for her; when she came aboard the master of her brought in three women and four children to sell, but they ask'd very dear for them, and they were almost dead for want of victuals, looking like meer skeletons, and so weak that they could not stand, so that they were not worth buying; he promis'd to procure us 2 or 300 slaves

<sup>21</sup> At Cape Coast the two vessels landed their cargo for the castle, amounting to about three hundred tons of goods each, disposed of what they could of their windward cargo, and after two months sailed for Anamabo, passing the Dutch Fort Nassau and the English establishment at Anashan on the way.

<sup>22</sup> Anamabo.

<sup>23</sup> Shurley and Phillips remained at Anamabo till May 2, taking in 180 chests of corn and two boats of water. Here they entertained and were entertained by Mr. Fasleman, the Dutch governor of Cormantine; here Henry Nurse, third mate on the *East-India Merchant* and eldest son of the African agent who built the fort at Sekundi, died; and here, Phillips wrote, "I had two little negroe boys presented me here by our honest factors, and two before at Cape Corce, with good store of Muscovy ducks, and other fresh provisions" (Churchill, VI. 210). May 4-9 the two captains spent at Winneba, with Mr. Nicholas Buckridge, the company's factor. At this place they procured canoes for their slaving at Whydah. *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211.

<sup>24</sup> "Acra fort has about 20 guns, but a thin garrison, not consisting of above 12 white men; it is in form square, having a bastion or flanker at each angle, on which the cannon are mounted. . . . The Dutch fort of 16 guns, lies about musket-shot from ours, much higher, so that it looks into our fort, and would be able to do it a great deal of mischief in case of war" (*ibid.*, p. 213). Captain Shurley died during the stay of the vessels at Accra.



if we would anchor, come ashore, and stay three or four days, but judging what the others might be, by the sample he brought us, and being loth to venture ashore upon his bare word, where we did not use to trade, and had no factory, we sent him away, and pursu'd our voyage; besides that we were upon the Alampo coast, which negroes are esteem'd the worst and most washy of any that are brought to the West-Indies, and yield the least price; why I know not, for they seem as well limb'd and lusty as any other negroes, and the only difference I perceiv'd in them, was, that they are not so black as the others, and are all circumcis'd, which no negroes else upon the whole coast (as I observ'd) are: The negroes most in demand at Barbadoes, are the gold coast, or, as they call them, Cormantines,<sup>25</sup> which will yield 3 or 4 l. a head more then the Whidaws, or, as they call them, Papa negroes;<sup>26</sup> but these are preferr'd before the Angola, as they are before the Alampo, which are accounted the worst of all. . . .

*May the 21st.* This morning I went ashore at Whidaw, accompany'd by my doctor and purser, Mr. Clay, the present Capt. of the *East-India Merchant*, his doctor and purser, and about a dozen of our seamen for our guard, arm'd, in order here to reside till we could purchase 1300 negro slaves, which was the number we both wanted, to compleat 700 for the *Hannibal*, and 650 for the *East-India Merchant*, according to our agreement in our charter-parties with the

<sup>25</sup> Coromantines, or Kormantines, the name applied in the West Indies to the negroes from the Gold Coast, many of whom came from Cormantine, east of Anamabo. Bryan Edwards says of them, "They sometimes take to labour with great promptitude and alacrity, and have constitutions well adapted for it", a sufficient reason for the high degree of favor with which they were regarded both in the West Indies and in the continental colonies (*Hist. of the West Indies*, third ed., 1794, II. 63). On the occasion of an uprising in Antigua Christopher Codrington wrote to the Board of Trade a description of these negroes: "They are not only the best and most faithful of our slaves, but are really all born Heroes. There is a difference between them and all other negroes beyond what 'tis possible for yr Lordships to conceive. There never was a raskal or coward of that nation, intrepid to the last degree, not a man of them but will stand to be cut to pieces without a sigh or groan, grateful and obedient to a kind master, but implacably revengeful when ill-treated. My Father, who had studied the genius and temper of all kinds of negroes 45 years with a very nice observation, would say, Noe man deserved a Corramante that would not treat him like a Friend rather than a Slave, and all my Corramantes preserve that love and veneration for him that they constantly visit his grave" (Dec. 30, 1701, *Cal. St. P. Col.*, 1701, p. 721). See also this work, vol. III., Rhode Island.

Oronoko, Mrs. Aphra Behn's romantic hero, was a Cormantine. Of his country she wrote: "Coromantien, a Country of Blacks so called, was one of those Places in which they found the most advantageous Trading for these Slaves, and thither most of our great Traders in that Merchandize traffick; for that Nation is very warlike and brave; and having a continual Campaign, being always in Hostility with one neighbouring Prince or other, they had the Fortune to take a great many Captives; for all they took in Battle were sold as Slaves; at least those common men who could not ransom themselves. Of these Slaves so taken, the General only has all the Profit; and of these Generals our Captains and Masters of Ships buy all their Freight." *Works*, V. 133-134.

<sup>26</sup> Whydah, Fida, or Juda, was near the centre of the Slave Coast. The Popo or Pawpaw negroes came from the region round Great and Little Popo, on the Slave Coast near Whydah.

royal African company; in procuring which quantity of slaves we spent about nine weeks. . . .

Our factory [at Whydah] lies about three miles from the sea-side, where we were carry'd in hammocks, which the factor Mr. Joseph Peirson, sent to attend our landing, with several arm'd blacks that belong'd to him for our guard; we were soon truss'd in a bag, toss'd upon negroes heads, and convey'd to our factory (p. 214). . . .<sup>27</sup>

Our factory built by Capt. Wiburne, Sir John Wiburne's brother, stands low near the marshes, which renders it a very unhealthy place to live in; the white men the African company send there, seldom returning to tell their tale: 'tis compass'd round with a mud-wall, about six foot high, and on the south-side is the gate; within is a large yard, a mud thatch'd house, where the factor lives, with the white men; also a store-house, a trunk for slaves, and a place where they bury their dead white men, call'd, very improperly, the hog-yard; there is also a good forge, and some other small houses. . . . And here I must observe that the rainy season begins about the middle of May, and ends the beginning of August, in which space it was my misfortune to be there, which created sicknesses among my negroes aboard, it being noted for the most malignant season by the blacks themselves, who while the rain lasts will hardly be prevail'd upon to stir out of their huts. . . .<sup>28</sup>

The factory prov'd beneficial to us in another kind;<sup>29</sup> for after we had procured a parcel of slaves, and sent them down to the sea-side to be carry'd off, it sometimes proved bad weather, and so great a sea, that the canoes could not come ashore to fetch them, so that they returned to the factory, where they were secured and provided for till good weather presented, and then were near to embrace the opportunity, we sometimes shipping off a hundred of both sexes at a time.

The factor, Mr. Peirson, was a brisk man, and had good interest with the king, and credit with the subjects, who knowing their tempers, which is very dastard, had good skill in treating them both civil and rough, as occasion requir'd; most of his slaves belonging to the factory, being gold coast negroes, who are very bold, brave, and sensible, ten of which would beat the best forty men the king of Whidaw had in his kingdom; besides their true love, respect and fidelity to their master, for whose interest or person they will most freely expose their own lives. . . .

As soon as the king understood of our landing, he sent two of his cappsheirs,<sup>30</sup> or noblemen, to compliment us at our factory, where

<sup>27</sup> Phillips here interpolates an account of the method of travelling in hammocks.

<sup>28</sup> Here is omitted the record of what was apparently the author's first encounter with mosquitoes.

<sup>29</sup> The first service which the factory rendered was to house the goods which were brought ashore at night, too late to be carried to Phillips's own warehouse.

<sup>30</sup> Caboceers.

we design'd to continue, that night, and pay our devoirs to his majesty next day, which we signify'd to them, and they, by a foot-express, to their monarch; whereupon he sent two more of his grandees to invite us there that night, saying he waited for us, and that all former captains used to attend him the first night: whereupon being unwilling to infringe the custom, or give his majesty any offence, we took our hammocks, and Mr. Peirson, myself, Capt. Clay, our surgeons, pursers, and about 12 men, arm'd for our guard, were carry'd to the king's town, which contains about 50 houses (p. 216). . . .<sup>31</sup>

We returned him thanks by his interpreter, and assur'd him how great affection our masters, the royal African company of England, bore to him, for his civility and fair and just dealings with their captains; and that notwithstanding there were many other places, more plenty of negro slaves that begg'd their custom, yet they had rejected all the advantageous offers made them out of their good will to him, and therefore had sent us to trade with him, to supply his country with necessaries, and that we hop'd he would endeavour to continue their favour by his kind usage and fair dealing with us in our trade, that we may have our slaves with all expedition, which was the making of our voyage; that he would oblige his cappsheirs to do us justice, and not impose upon us in their prices; all which we should faithfully relate to our masters, the royal African company, when we came to England. He answer'd that the African company was a very good brave man; that he lov'd him; that we should be fairly dealt with, and not impos'd upon; But he did not prove as good as his word; nor indeed (tho' his cappsheirs shew him so much respect) dare he do any thing but what they please . . .<sup>32</sup> so after having examin'd us about our cargoe, what sort of goods we had, and what quantity of slaves we wanted, etc., we took our leaves and return'd to the factory, having promised to come in the morning to make our palavera, or agreement, with him about prices, how much of each of our goods for a slave.

According to promise we attended his majesty with samples of our goods, and made our agreement about the prices, tho' not without much difficulty; he and his cappsheirs exacted very high, but at length we concluded as per the latter end; then we had warehouses, a kitchen, and lodgings assign'd us, but none of our rooms

<sup>31</sup> They were conducted to the presence of the king, with much hand-clapping and many obeisances on the part of the caboceers.

<sup>32</sup> Here follows an account of the repast which the king set before them, and of his loud expressions of grief on learning of Captain Shurley's death, Shurley having, so the king maintained, promised to bring him many gifts on this voyage. The grief changed to anger and charges of bad faith against his guests when he was assured by Captain Clay that the cargo contained no silks, muskets, or pictures intended for him. Churchill, VI. 217.

had doors till we made them, and put on locks and keys; next day we paid our customs to the king and cappasheirs, as will appear hereafter; then the bell was order'd to go about to give notice to all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to sell us: this bell is a hollow piece of iron in shape of a sugar loaf, the cavity of which could contain about 50 lb. of cowries: This a man carry'd about and beat with a stick, which made a small dead sound (p. 217). . . .

Capt. Clay and I had agreed to go to the trunk<sup>83</sup> to buy the slaves by turns, each his day, that we might have no distraction or disagreement in our trade, as often happens when there are here more ships than one, and the commanders can't set their horses together, and go hand in hand in their traffick, whereby they have a check upon the blacks, whereas their disagreements create animosities, underminings, and out-bidding each other, whereby they enhance the prices to their general loss and detriment, the blacks well knowing how to make the best use of such opportunities, and as we found make it their business, and endeavour to create and foment misunderstandings and jealousies between commanders, it turning to their great account in the disposal of their slaves.

When we were at the trunk, the king's slaves, if he had any, were the first offer'd to sale, which the cappasheirs would be very urgent with us to buy, and would in a manner force us to it ere they would shew us any other, saying they were the *Reys Cosa*,<sup>84</sup> and we must not refuse them, tho' as I observ'd they were generally the worst slaves in the trunk, and we paid more for them than any others, which we could not remedy, it being one of his majesty's prerogatives: then the cappasheirs each brought out his slaves according to his degree and quality, the greatest first, etc. and our surgeon examin'd them well in all kinds, to see that they were sound wind and limb, making them jump, stretch out their arms swiftly, looking in their mouths to judge of their age; for the cappasheirs are so cunning, that they shave them all close before we see them, so that let them be never so old we can see no grey hairs in their heads or beards; and then having liquor'd them well and sleek with palm oil, 'tis no easy matter to know an old one from a middle-age one, but by the teeth decay; but our greatest care of all is to buy none that are pox'd, lest they should infect the rest aboard. . . .

When we had selected from the rest such as we liked, we agreed in what goods to pay for them, the prices being already stated before

<sup>83</sup> "I could hardly stand or go to the trunk without assistance, and there often fainted with the horrid stink of the negroes." Phillips complained of violent pain in his head during most of his stay on the coast. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

<sup>84</sup> *Reys Cosa*, or slaves of the king. Phillips, engaged in the English trade, Barbot, in the French trade, and Bosman, in the Dutch, all traded on the coast at the end of the seventeenth century and all have left somewhat detailed descriptions of the processes of trade which make possible a comparison of their trade and their dealings with the natives.

the king, how much of each sort of merchandize we were to give for a man, woman, and child, which gave us much ease, and saved abundance of disputes and wranglings, and gave the owner a note, signifying our agreement of the sorts of goods; upon delivery of which the next day he receiv'd them; then we mark'd the slaves we had bought in the breast, or shoulder, with a hot iron, having the letter of the ship's name on it, the place being before anointed with a little palm oil, which caus'd but little pain, the mark being usually well in four or five days, appearing very plain and white after.

When we had purchas'd to the number of 50 or 60 we would send them aboard, there being a cappasheir, intituled the captain of the slaves, whose care it was to secure them to the water-side, and see them all off; and if in carrying to the marine any were lost, he was bound to make them good, to us, the captain of the trunk being oblig'd to do the like, if any ran away while under his care, for after we buy them we give him charge of them till the captain of the slaves comes to carry them away: These are two officers appointed by the king for this purpose, to each of which every ship pays the value of a slave in what goods they like best for their trouble, when they have done trading; and indeed they discharg'd their duty to us very faithfully, we not having lost one slave thro' their neglect in 1300 we bought here.

There is likewise a captain of the sand, who is appointed to take care of the merchandize we have come ashore to trade with, that the negroes do not plunder them, we being often forced to leave goods a whole night on the sea shore, for want of porters to bring them up; but notwithstanding his care and authority, we often came by the loss, and could have no redress.

When our slaves were come to the seaside, our canoes were ready to carry them off to the longboat, if the sea permitted, and she convey'd them aboard ship, where the men were all put in irons, two and two shackled together, to prevent their mutiny, or swimming ashore.

The negroes are so wilful and loth to leave their own country, that they have often leap'd out of the canoes, boat and ship, into the sea, and kept under water till they were drowned, to avoid being taken up and saved by our boats, which pursued them; they having a more dreadful apprehension of Barbadoes than we can have of hell, tho' in reality they live much better there than in their own country; but home is home, etc: we have likewise seen divers of them eaten by the sharks, of which a prodigious number kept about the ships in this place, and I have been told will follow her hence to Barbadoes, for the dead negroes that are thrown over-board in the passage. I am certain in our voyage there we did not want the sight of some every day, but that they were the same I can't affirm.

We had about 12 negroes did wilfully drown themselves, and others starv'd themselves to death; for 'tis their belief that when they die they return home to their own country and friends again.

I have been inform'd that some commanders have cut off the legs and arms of the most wilful, to terrify the rest, for they believe if they lose a member, they cannot return home again: I was advis'd by some of my officers to do the same, but I could not be perswaded to entertain the least thought of it, much less put in practice such barbarity and cruelty to poor creatures, who, excepting their want of christianity and true religion (their misfortune more than fault) are as much the works of God's hands, and no doubt as dear to him as ourselves; nor can I imagine why they should be despis'd for their colour, being what they cannot help, and the effect of the climate it has pleas'd God to appoint them. I can't think there is any intrinsick value in one colour more than another, nor that white is better than black, only we think so because we are so, and are prone to judge favourably in our own case, as well as the blacks, who in odium of the colour, say, the devil is white, and so paint him (pp. 218-219) . . .

The present king often, when ships are in a great strait for slaves, and cannot be supply'd otherwise, will sell 3 or 400 of his wives to compleat their number, but we always pay dearer for his slaves than those bought of the cappasheirs, his measure for booges being much larger than theirs, and he was allow'd accordingly in all other goods we had.

For every slave the cappasheirs sold us publicly, they were oblig'd to pay part of the goods they receiv'd for it to the king, as toll or custom, especially the booges, of which he would take a small dishfull out of each measure; to avoid this they would privately send for us to their houses in the night, and dispose of two or three slaves at a time, and we as privately would send them the goods agreed upon for them; but this they did not much practise for fear of offending the king, should he come to know it, who enjoyns them to carry all their slaves to be sold publicly at the trunk with his own; sometimes after he had sold one of his wives or subjects, he would relent, and desire us to exchange for another, which we freely did often, and he took very kindly (pp. 219-220). . . .<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The pages here omitted, all relating to Whydah, describe many native customs, and give the account promised by Phillips at an earlier point, of a war waged by the Akanna (called by the author Arcany), an inland people designated by Phillips as "the best traders to our ships and castles", against the Fetu people, who had refused passage to the Akanna through their territory. According to Phillips, the Dutch were the instigators of the Fetu policy, they desiring to absorb the Akanna trade. The English supported the Akanna, even to the extent of sending them arms and a few soldiers. Joined by the people of Sabo, they were victorious, and named a new king of the Fetu, whom they forced to swear allegiance to the Royal African Company. This ceremony Phillips witnessed while he was at Cape Coast Castle. Churchill, VI. 224-225.

After we are come to an agreement for the prices of our slaves, ere the bell goes round to order all people to bring their slaves to the trunk to be sold, we are oblig'd to pay our customs to the king and cappasheirs for leave to trade, protection and justice; which for every ship are as follow, *viz.*

To the king six slaves value in cowries, or what other goods we can perswade him to take, but cowries are most esteem'd and desir'd; all which are measur'd in his presence, and he would wrangle with us stoutly about heaping up the measure.

To the cappasheirs in all two slaves value, as above.

The usual charges here which we pay at our departure when we have finish'd our trade, in any goods that remain, are

One slave value to the captain of the trunk for his care of our slaves while there; one slave value to the captain of the sand for his care of our goods; one ditto to the captain of the slaves who conducts them safe to the sea-side; one ditto to captain Tom the interpreter, for his trouble; one ditto for filling water; half a slave, or as much cowries as the cavity of the bell can contain, to the bell-man.

Besides all which our factory charges, victualling the negroes after bought till they get aboard, and hire of porters to bring up the goods from the sea-side, which is seven miles at least, and the stoutest fellow would not bring above two bars of iron at a time, and make but one trip in a day, took up great quantities of our cowries, we paying these last charges in nothing else but these shells.

The best goods to purchase slaves here are cowries, the smaller the more esteem'd; for they pay them all by tale, the smallest being as valuable as the biggest, but take them from us by measure or weight, of which about 100 pounds for a good man-slave.

The next in demand are brass neptunes or basons, very large, thin, and flat; for after they have bought them they cut them in pieces to make anilias or bracelets, and collars for their arms legs and necks.

The other preferable goods are blue paper sletias, cambricks or lawns, caddy chints, broad ditto, coral, large, smooth, and of a deep red, rangoes<sup>38</sup> large and red, iron bars, powder, and brandy.

With the above goods a ship cannot want slaves here, and may purchase them for about three pounds fifteen shillings a head, but near half the cargo value must be cowries or booges, and brass basons, to set off the other goods that we buy cheaper, as coral, rangoes, iron, etc. else they will not take them; for if a cappasheir sells five slaves, he will have two of them paid for in cowries, and one in brass, which are dear slaves; for a slave in cowries costs us above four pounds in England; whereas a slave in coral, rangoes, or iron, does not cost fifty shillings; but without the cowries and brass they will take none of the

<sup>38</sup> Arrangoes, English cloth.

last goods, and but small quantities at best, especially if they can discover that you have good store of cowries and brass aboard, then no other goods will serve their turn, till they have got as much as you have; and after, for the rest of the goods they will be indifferent, and make you come to their own terms, or else lie a long time for your slaves, so that those you have on board are dying while you are buying others ashore; therefore every man that comes here, ought to be very cautious in making his report to the king at first, of what sorts and quantities of goods he has, and be sure to say his cargo consists mostly in iron, coral, rangoes, chints, etc. so that he may dispose of those goods as soon as he can, and at last his cowries and brass will bring him slaves as fast as he can buy them; but this is to be understood of a single ship: or more, if the captains agree, which seldom happens; for where there are divers ships, and of separate interests, about buying the same commodity they commonly undermine, betray, and out-bid one the other; and the Guiney commanders words and promises are the least to be depended upon of any I know use the sea; for they would deceive their fathers in their trade if they could.

Sayes, perpetuanoes, knives, old sheets, pewter basons, muskets, etc. which are the best goods on the gold coast for gold, are in no esteem here; for they would have four perpetuanoes for a slave, which at prime cost in England, came to 4 *l.* 15 *s.* so of the rest, especially salempores or fine callicoes, of which they would have four for a slave, which were charged to us by the African company at six pounds first cost; so that it was great loss to send such goods; for we could buy for ten ounces of good coral, 300 in number of good red rangoes, or fourteen bars of iron, which did not come to above forty-five shillings, as good a slave as for four pieces of calicoes that cost six pounds Sterling.

The only money they have here are these cowries or shells we carry them, being brought from the East-Indies, and were charg'd to us at four pounds per cent. of which we gave 100 lb. for a slave; as soon as the negroes have them, they bore holes in the backs of them, and string them on rushes, 40 shells on each, which they call a foggy; and five of such foggys being tied together, is call'd a galina, being 200 shells, which is their way of accounting their shell-money (pp. 226-228). . . .

The canoes<sup>87</sup> we buy on the gold coast, and strengthen them with knees and weather-boards fore and aft, to keep the sea out, they plunging very deep when they go against a sea. . . . those that are most fit for the use at Whidaw, are five hand or seven hand canoes; of which each ship that buys many slaves ought to carry two, for they are very incident to be staved by the great sea when they overset, and

<sup>87</sup> All carrying to and from the ship was done in canoes.



here is none for supply, and without them there is no landing or coming off for goods or men: The canoe-men we bring from Cape Corce being seven in number, of which one is boatswain, and is commonly one of the most skillful canoe-men in Guiney. . . . their pay is certain and stated, half of which we pay them in gold at Cape Corce, and the rest in goods when we have done with them at Whidaw; 'tis also customary to give them a canoe to carry them back, and cut up the other for fire-wood, unless an opportunity offers to sell it, which is very rare. They lost us six or seven barrels of cowries, above 100 bars of iron, and other goods, by the over-setting of the canoes in landing them, which we could never recover, or have the least satisfaction for, but were forced to give them good words, lest they should, in revenge, play us more such tricks; we kept two men ashore here constantly to fill water, which lay and eat at the factory, which fill'd our small hogsheads in the night, and roll'd them over the sand to the sea-side, ready to raft off in the morning, before the sea breeze came in, which is the only time, we having no other way to get it off but by rafting, and in halling off to the longboat the great sea would often break our raft, and stave our cask, whereby we lost a great many. The longboat was chiefly employ'd in bringing water aboard, which we started into our butts in the hold, and sent the small cask ashore again next morning, of which we had two gangs on purpose; we had a little deal yaul which did us great service in bringing off cows, hogs, slaves, letters, etc. from the canoes, with only two boys in her: When our slaves are aboard we shackle the men two and two, while we lie in port, and in sight of their own country, for 'tis then they attempt to make their escape, and mutiny; to prevent which we always keep centinels upon the hatchways, and have a chest full of small arms, ready loaden and prim'd, constantly lying at hand upon the quarter-deck, together with some granada shells; and two of our quarter-deck guns, pointing on the deck thence, and two more out of the steerage, the door of which is always kept shut, and well barr'd; they are fed twice a day, at 10 in the morning, and 4 in the evening, which is the time they are aptest to mutiny, being all upon deck; therefore all that time, what of our men are not employ'd in distributing their victuals to them, and settling them, stand to their arms; and some with lighted matches at the great guns that yaun upon them, loaden with partridge, till they have done and gone down to their kennels between decks: Their chief diet is call'd dabbadabb, being Indian corn ground as small as oat-meal, in iron mills, which we carry for that purpose; and after mix'd with water, and boil'd well in a large copper furnace, till 'tis as thick as a pudding, about a peckful of which in vessels, call'd crews, is allow'd to 10 men, with a little salt, malagetta, and palm oil, to relish; they are divided into messes of ten

each, for the easier and better order in serving them: Three days a week they have horse-beans boil'd for their dinner and supper, great quantities of which the African company do send aboard us for that purpose; these beans the negroes extremely love and desire, beating their breast, eating them, and crying *Pram! Pram!* which is *Very good!* they are indeed the best diet for them, having a binding quality, and consequently good to prevent the flux, which is the inveterate distemper that most affects them, and ruins our voyages by their mortality: The men are all fed upon the main deck and fore-castle, that we may have them all under command of our arms from the quarter-deck, in case of any disturbance; the women eat upon the quarter-deck with us, and the boys and girls upon the poop; after they are once divided into messes, and appointed their places, they will readily run there in good order of themselves afterwards; when they have eaten their victuals clean up, (which we force them to for to thrive the better) they are order'd down between decks, and every one as he passes has a pint of water to drink after his meat, which is serv'd them by the cooper out of a large tub, fill'd before-hand ready for them (p. 229). . . .

When we come to sea we let them all out of irons, they never attempting then to rebel, considering that should they kill or master us, they could not tell how to manage the ship, or must trust us, who would carry them where we pleas'd; therefore the only danger is while we are in sight of their own country, which they are loth to part with; but once out of sight out of mind: I never heard that they mutiny'd in any ships of consequence, that had a good number of men, and the least care; but in small tools where they had but few men, and those negligent or drunk, then they surpriz'd and butcher'd them, cut the cables, and let the vessel drive ashore, and every one shift for himself. However, we have some 30 or 40 gold coast negroes, which we buy, and are procur'd us there by our factors, to make guardians and overseers of the *Whidaw* negroes, and sleep among them to keep them from quarrelling; and in order, as well as to give us notice, if they can discover any caballing or plotting among them, which trust they will discharge with great diligence: they also take care to make the negroes scrape the decks where they lodge every morning very clean, to eschew any distempers that may engender from filth and nastiness; when we constitute a guardian, we give him a cat of nine tails as a badge of his office, which he is not a little proud of, and will exercise with great authority. We often at sea in the evenings would let the slaves come up into the sun to air themselves, and make them jump and dance for an hour or two to our bag-pipes, harp, and fiddle, by which exercise to preserve them in health; but notwith-

standing all our endeavour, 'twas my hard fortune to have great sickness and mortality among them.

Having bought my compliment of 700 slaves, viz. 480 men and 220 women, and finish'd all my business at Whidaw, I took my leave of the old king, and his cappasheirs, and parted, with many affectionate expressions on both sides, being forced to promise him that I would return again the next year, with several things he desired me to bring him from England; and having sign'd bills of lading to Mr. Peirson, for the negroes aboard, I set sail the 27th of July in the morning, accompany'd with the *East-India Merchant*, who had bought 650 slaves, for the island of St. Thomas, with the wind at W.S.W. (pp. 229-230). . . .<sup>38</sup>

We supply'd ourselves with some Indian corn, figolas, or kidney-beans, plantins,<sup>39</sup> yams, potatoes, cocoa-nuts, limes, oranges, etc., for the use and refreshment of our negroes, at the following rates, viz.

Indian corn at two alcars per dollar.

Figolas or kidney beans, at dollars three per chest, which would contain near four bushels.

Plantins at dollars two and a half per thousand, by tale.

Yams, which are great large roots, and eat very sweet, much like potato in taste, at dollars 25 per thousand, by tale.

Cocoa-nuts at dollars 10 per thousand nuts.

Limes, oranges, limons, bananas, etc. for little or nothing (p. 232). . . .

Having completed all my business ashore in fourteen days that I lay here, yesterday in the afternoon I came off with a resolution to go to sea. Accordingly about six in the evening we got up our anchors, and set sail for Barbadoes, being forc'd to leave the *East-India merchant* behind, who could not get ready to sail in nine or ten days; which time I could not afford to stay, in respect to the mortality of my negroes, of which two or three died every day, also the small quantity of provisions I had to serve for my passage to Barbadoes (p. 234). . . .<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> On Aug. 9 Phillips commented on his need for wood, water, and provisions, and added that his slaves were dying fast; on the 12th he anchored at São Thomé, put all his negro men into irons lest they should swim ashore, and interviewed the governor of the island. Here he took water from a brook which crossed the island, "which to my taste and apprehension seem'd very good, tho' the distempers and mortality that afterwards happen'd among my men and slaves, made me suspect it did partake of some of the malignity of the island thro which it runs". Phillips obtained wood here as well as pork and other provisions, all of the best quality and very cheap. Churchill, VI. 232.

<sup>39</sup> According to Miss Mary Kingsley, the coarse bananas of the West Coast were called plantains. When used for food on the Middle Passage they were sometimes dried.

<sup>40</sup> Here follows a table giving daily observations of wind, weather, and the course of the vessel. Phillips reckoned it 4075 miles to Barbados. Early in the voyage, fearing that his provisions would become exhausted, he limited the men to "short allowance of provisions, and to two quarts of water per man per day, boiling our provisions in salt water". It is difficult to see why Phillips failed to provide ample provisions unless he found it impossible to barter the goods he carried for food. He makes no mention of such difficulty save at Santiago.

We spent in our passage from St. Thomas to Barbadoes two months eleven days, from the 25th of August to the 4th of November following: in which time there happen'd much sickness and mortality among my poor men and negroes, that of the first we buried 14, and of the last 320, which was a great detriment to our voyage, the royal African company losing ten pounds by every slave that died, and the owners of the ship ten pounds ten shillings, being the freight agreed on to be paid them by the charter-party for every negroe deliver'd alive ashore to the African company's agents at Barbadoes; whereby the loss in all amounted to near 6560 pounds sterling. The distemper which my men as well as the blacks mostly die of, was the white flux, which was so violent and inveterate, that no medicine would in the least check it; so that when any of our men were seiz'd with it, we esteem'd him a dead man, as he generally proved. I cannot imagine what should cause it in them so suddenly, they being free from it till about a week after we left the island of St. Thomas. And next to the malignity of the climate, I can attribute it to nothing else but the unpurg'd black sugar, and raw unwholesome rum they bought there, of which they drank in punch to great excess, and which it was not in my power to hinder, having chastis'd several of them, and flung over-board what rum and sugar I could find (p. 236). . . .<sup>41</sup>

The negroes are so incident to the small-pox, that few ships that carry them escape without it, and sometimes it makes vast havock and destruction among them: but tho' we had 100 at a time sick of it, and that it went thro' the ship, yet we lost not above a dozen by it. All the assistance we gave the diseased was only as much water as they desir'd to drink, and some palm-oil to anoint their sores, and they would generally recover without any other helps but what kind nature gave them.

One thing is very surprizing in this distemper among the blacks, that tho' it immediately infects those of their own colour, yet it will never seize a white man; for I had several white men and boys aboard that had never had that distemper, and were constantly among the blacks that were sick of it, yet none of them in the least catch'd it, tho' it be the very same malady in its effects, as well as symptoms, among the blacks, as among us in England, beginning with the pain in the head, back, shivering, vomiting, fever, etc. But what the small-pox spar'd, the flux swept off, to our great regret, after all our pains and care to give them their messes in due order and season, keeping their lodgings as clean and sweet as possible, and enduring so much

<sup>41</sup> Here Phillips relates his difficulties with one of his sailors, William Lord, who deserted him in Barbados, to ship on a New England frigate which had been fitted by Barbados merchants for the Madagascar slave trade, or possibly a piratical raid in the Red Sea. The form of the author's reference to the Madagascar project makes it evident that he accepted it as an entirely legitimate enterprise. Churchill, VI. 207-208.

misery and stench so long among a parcel of creatures nastier than swine; and after all our expectations to be defeated by their mortality. No gold-finders can endure so much noisome slavery as they do who carry negroes; for those have some respite and satisfaction, but we endure twice the misery; and yet by their mortality our voyages are ruin'd, and we pine and fret our selves to death, to think that we should undergo so much misery, and take so much pains to so little purpose.

I deliver'd alive at Barbadoes to the company's factors 372, which being sold, came out at about nineteen pounds per head one with another (p. 237). . . .<sup>42</sup>

#### 158. REPRESENTATION OF GILBERT HETCHCOTT AND JOHN GARDNER.<sup>1</sup>

*To the Hon'ble the Com'ee to whom the consideration of the Petition in the name of the Royall African [Company] of England is referred.*

Gilbert Hetchcott and John Gardner of London Merchants haveing been summoned by this Hon'ble Committee to offer what they have to alledge against the Petition of the said Company humbly represent to this Hon'ble Comittee.

That wee are advised that at present there is noe Affrican Company in being for that the said Company stand Actually dissolved by an Act of this present Parliam't. That while they were a Company they acted very Illegally and Oppressively.

1. By Stopping shippis outward bound and bringing them up from Gravesend when they were loaden and ready to Sail, and had paid all Duties and were cleared according to the Laws of the Land and detaining such Shippis until the Masters and owners had given Bonds on Great Penalties not to Trade on the Coast of Guiny to the great Damage of the Merchants and overthrow of many of their Voyages.

2. By seizing many Shippis with their Merchandizes in the open Sea and in ports in a Hostile manner, whereby severall lost their lives.

3. By setting up arbitrary Courts of Judicature in Foreigne parts and trying the validity of their Actions by their owne Agents.

<sup>42</sup> At Barbados, which Phillips considered a most unhealthful place, he reports the death of 18 of his own men and of 20 masters of vessels while he sojourned there. As return cargo he took on board 700 hhds. of sugar, at 9 and 10 s. per hundred weight for the muscovadoes, and 11 for the clayed; cotton at 2 d. per lb.; and ginger at 8 s. per cent. He sailed for England Apr. 2 under convoy, as a French squadron was reported to be lying in wait for merchant vessels near Martinique (Churchill, VI. 237-238). On the voyage home Phillips was taken ill and lost his hearing, an affliction which eventually sent him into retirement in Wales for the rest of his life. This therefore recounts his last voyage.

[158] <sup>1</sup> Br. Museum, Harleian MSS. 7310, ff. 207-209.